1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Teiwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

FIG. 31. Plan of village according to John Baxx, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waŋgeregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*Huŋk wokᵊ*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *Huŋk wokᵊ* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division.

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if you accept them, then we will assuredly wear war honors (some day). That we may pass through life without any troubles and that we may live long, we ask of you and offer you tobacco, grandfather."

Host's offering to Earth.—"Grandmother, you blessed Djōbenagi-wi'ŋxga with whatever the Creator delegated to you. With everything that exists on the earth, for all eternity, did you tell grandfather you would bless him, and this is what we ask of you and for which we will forever offer you tobacco. You will do it, he told us you had said. A handful of tobacco we are about to send toward you, we, as many of our clansmen as are here. Tobacco do you accept from us, grandmother. A handful of tobacco there, upon him who stands in the middle of the lodge,[a] do we pour. Give us war powers and life; for these we beseech you. Here it is, the tobacco."

The host then pours some tobacco into the fire.

"Soup, vegetables, together with maple sugar we are about to send you.[b] If you accept them, life we will obtain; that we ask of you."

Host's offering to the Moon.—"Grandmother, You-Who-Come-at-Night,[c] grandmother, you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga and now all his descendants, as many as there are, are about to offer you tobacco. Now when we come to a tobacco offering we will certainly offer some to you. And you will be cognizant of it, you assured us yourself, it is said. Whatever you are in control of and with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga for all eternity, that we are to ask for at all times, they told us you had said and you will assuredly give it to us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"I am using the tobacco as a means of obtaining life for myself and my relatives.[d] The Creator gave it to me and I am offering it to you. As many of our clansmen as are here we beg of you war powers; and that if we ever go on a warpath[e] there we will obtain the war honors. Soup and the animals the Creator made for me,[f] the black-furred one[g] we are offering you; soup of bear ribs. A sacred feast we are about to hold for you. A buckskin for moccasins we are about to send out to you. War powers and life we ask of you; that you give us life, so that our days may be happy. Truly, grandmother, did you bless our grandfather Djobenagiwi'ŋxga with what-

[a] "He who stands in the middle of the lodge" is the ritualistic name for the fireplace. He is always personified and the tobacco is generally conceived of as being poured upon his head.

[b] As the offerings are made to the earth, vegetables and maple sugar are selected.

[c] Ritualistic name for the moon. The regular name is "hake wiŋ" (night sun).

[d] The term "ma'ejegiwi'ŋxga," literally meaning "a life bestowing," is used only in rituals and is generally taken to include any offering.

[e] "Path," is the regular word for warpath. Literally it means simply "road."

[f] I. e., what the Creator had placed in his way and permitted him to catch and prepare for this feast. It is in this specific significance that it is meant here.

[g] "Elk-animal" is both the ritualistic and determined name for the bear.

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5: McKern - E-5 (1927) 1929
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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1928 NP12 Winnebago NP12

159 §4. *Reminiscences of Childhood*

[785] [501] [226] [593] The following spring I stopped fasting.

In those days we used to travel in canoes. My father used to spear fish and always took me along with him, and this I enjoyed very much. He kept a club in the canoe and after he had speared a fish, I would kill it with the club as it was jumping around. Sometimes my mother accompanied us. She sat in the stern of the boat and rowed while my father stood in the prow and speared the fish. I killed all those thrown in the canoe.

[865] Sometimes my parents would start out without me, but I would then cry so bitterly that I, in the long run, induced them to take me along. Sometimes they whipped me and told me to go home, but I would follow them so far that they were then afraid to let me go back alone and I would thus be permitted to ride with them. Indeed I exerted myself greatly in crying and as I cried, ran after them and followed them very far, I was always taken along in the end.

[342] In those days we lived in the old-fashioned Indian lodges. In winter our fire was placed in the center of [354] the lodge and my father used to keep it burning all night. When he placed a large log in the fire it would burn a long time.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Crashing Thunder

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits. My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

Following the speech came the prayers to the various spirits:

Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.